

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CU-02 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02

ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 SS-15 AF-06 NEA-09 /090 W

----- 039751

R 061626Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9887

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 07316

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, UR, GW

SUBJECT: CSCE: THE CDU VIEW

BEGIN SUMMARY: CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE CDU ARE
UPSET ABOUT THE POSSIBLE ADVERSE EFFECTS WHICH THE
FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS MIGHT HAVE ON THE FRG. IN PARTICU-
LAR, CONCERN HAS BEEN EXPRESSED ABOUT THE UNEQUAL
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULA AND
THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS PRINCIPLE. IT IS FEARED
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THAT THE SOVIETS WILL COUNTER ANY WESTERN MORAL OR

POLITICAL DRIVE TOWARD A PEACEFUL CHANGE IN FRONTIERS BY CHARGING THAT EAST-WEST DETENTE IS ENDANGERED. IT IS ALSO BELIEVED THAT THE SOVIETS WILL GIVE MORE WEIGHT TO THE BINDING NATURE OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS THAN THE WEST. THE U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD CSCE WAS ALSO CRITICIZED. WHILE THE STRONGLY BEARISH VIEW OF CSCE HELD BY THE OPPOSITION IS NOT UNEXPECTED, THE FRG MUST PERFORCE TAKE ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE CRITICISM AS IT CONTINUES TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN GENEVA IN HELPING TO BRING THE CONFERENCE TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. END SUMMARY

1. CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE CDU ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE MAY PORTEND FOR THE FRG. THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION HAS BEEN KEPT FAIRLY WELL INFORMED REGARDING THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA, BUT THUS FAR HAS BEEN IN A POSITION TO VOICE ONLY GENERALIZED OBJECTIONS TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, THE CDU/CSU DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY SPOKESMAN, DR. ALOIS MERTES, VISITED GENEVA APRIL 24-25 FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH EASTERN AND WESTERN DELEGATION HEADS WHICH HAVE RECONFIRMED HIS OWN WORST FEARS ABOUT THE CONFERENCE.

2. MERTES EXPRESSED TO AN EMBASSY OFFICER HIS VIEW THAT SOVIET POLICY FOLLOWING CSCE WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE AS ITS PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE THE CONTINUED PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SEPARATION OF THE TWO GERMANYS. THE SOVIETS CAN BE EXPECTED TO PURSUE THIS UNCHANGING POLICY THROUGH THEIR INTERPRETATION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS. MERTES IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE UNEQUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULA AND THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS PRINCIPLE. WHILE PAYING COMPLIMENTS TO THE GERMAN AND AMERICAN DELEGATIONS FOR THEIR EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF OBTAINING THE CURRENT TEXT, MERTES POINTED OUT THAT THE FORMULA IN NO WAY COUNTER-BALANCED THE WEIGHT OF THE THIRD PRINCIPLE. MOREOVER, MERTES THOUGHT THAT THE PHRASE "BY AGREEMENT" IN THE FORMULA PROVIDED THE SOVIETS WITH A MEANS WHEREBY THEY COULD

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OBJECT TO ANY PROSPECTIVE CHANGE OF FRONTIERS NOT TO THEIR LIKING.

3. MERTES INTERPRETS THE THIRD PRINCIPLE AS DESIGNED BY THE SOVIETS TO PROTECT THEIR EMPIRE WHICH EXTENDS TO THE BORDER BETWEEN THE TWO GERMANYS. HE SAID THAT IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR MENDELEVITCH, THE AMBASSADOR MADE THE POINT QUITE CLEARLY THAT AN

"ASSAULT" ON A BORDER IS NOT REPEAT NOT UNDERSTOOD BY
THE SOVIETS TO REFER EXCLUSIVELY TO MILITARY MEANS.
THE SOVIETS WOULD RAISE OBJECTIONS TO ANY TYPE OF MORAL
OR POLITICAL DRIVE BY A WESTERN STATE FOR A CHANGE OF
FRDNTIERS WHICH, IN THE SOVIET VIEW, WOULD BE DIRECTED

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----- 039792

R 061626Z MAY 75

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AGAINST EAST-WEST DETENTE. MERTES CLAIMS THAT
THIS IS ALL PART OF THE SOVIET ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE FRG
ON THE DEFENSIVE AND TO INDUCE A "SOFT AND YIELDING"

ATTITUDE AMONG THE WEST GERMANS.

4. MERTES EXPRESSED CONCERN ALSO ABOUT THE BINDING EFFECT OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS. WHILE AGREEING WITH THE WESTERN INTERPRETATION THAT THE FINAL DOCUMENTS WILL REPRESENT ONLY POLITICAL AND MORAL DECLARATIONS, HE POINTED OUT THAT THE SOVIETS CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERPRET THE DOCUMENTS QUITE DIFFERENTLY. MERTES SAID HE EXPECTS THE SOVIETS TO TRY TO GIVE GREAT IMPORT TO THE DOCUMENTS BY NOTING THAT THEY HAVE BEEN SIGNED BY 35 NATIONS. HE EXPECTS THE SOVIETS TO ATTEMPT TO USE THE FINAL DOCUMENTS TO CONTINUE THEIR POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE AGAINST THE WEST.

5. AS FOR BASKET III ITEMS, MERTES WAS NOT SANGUINE ABOUT THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS FOR THE WEST. HE SAID THE FACT THAT THE AGREEMENTS WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED BASED ON THE LAW OBTAINING IN A GIVEN STATE WOULD PERMIT THE SOVIETS TO TURN ASIDE MANY OF THE SO-CALLED ACHIEVEMENTS IN BASKET III.

6. NOR IS MERTES HAPPY ABOUT THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE VIS-A-VIS CSCE. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. IS OUTNUMBERED FOUR AMBASSADORS TO ONE IN GENEVA, AND THAT SOVIET AMBASSADOR DUBININ IN CHARGE OF BASKET III NEGOTIATIONS IS THE BEST SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE. MERTES WAS PARTICULARLY UPSET BY AN AMERICAN REFERENCE TO THE "ESOTERIC" NATURE OF SOME CSCE ISSUES. MERTES ARGUED THAT SUCH ISSUES WERE NOT ESOTERIC FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE SINCE THEY CONCERN THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE REUNIFICATION. MERTES EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT THERE IS A DEEP FEELING AMONG THE GERMANS FOR REUNIFICATION, AND THAT SEVERAL YEARS FROM NOW GERMAN POLITICIANS WILL BE CALLED TO ACCOUNT BY THE VOTERS FOR FAILING TO WARN THEM OF THE DANGERS INHERENT IN THE DOCUMENTS NEGOTIATED IN GENEVA.

7. COMMENT: MERTES IS A VERY CONSERVATIVE POLITICIAN WHO IS MOST SKEPTICAL ABOUT SOVIET MOTIVATIONS AND GOALS AND HIS VIEWS ON CSCE ARE NOT UNEXPECTED. AS THE OPPOSITION SPOKESMAN FOR DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY MATTERS, HIS STRONG WARNINGS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE ADVERSE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE CARRY A CERTAIN WEIGHT WITHIN THE CDU AND ALMOST CERTAINLY AFFECT FRG POLICY MAKERS IN BONN. WHILE TAKING THE CONSERVATIVE VIEW INTO ACCOUNT TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, WE EXPECT THE FRG TO CONTINUE TO PLAY A BASICALLY POSITIVE ROLE IN GENEVA IN HELPING TO BRING THE CONFERENCE ULTIMATELY TO A

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SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. END COMMENT
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, MEETINGS, POLITICAL PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BONN07316
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750158-0844
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750575/aaaacqhk.tel
Line Count: 231
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <07 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: THE CDU VIEW BEGIN SUMMARY: CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE CDU ARE
TAGS: PFOR, XG, UR, GE, CSCE, CDU
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006